

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 181613 TOSEC 080231

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, US, JA

SUBJECT: TALKER FOR MIKI VISIT

FOR SECRETARY FROM HABIB

1. FOLLOWING IS BACKGROUND/TALKING POINTS MEMORANDUM
("TALKER") FOR YOUR USE IN BRIEFING PRESIDENT ON MIKI VISIT.

2. PURPOSES: OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES ARE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE
IMPORTANCE WE PLACE ON OUR TIES WITH JAPAN AND OUR RECOG-
NITION OF ITS STATUS AS A WORLD POWER, TO ENLIST JAPANESE
SUPPORT FOR OUR APPROACHES TO MAJOR MULTILATERAL ISSUES,
AND TO ESTABLISH A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOU AND
PRIME MINISTER MIKI. MORE SPECIFICALLY, WE WISH TO:

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--AFFIRM THE STEADINESS OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD EAST ASIA,
PARTICULARLY KOREA, IN THE AFTERMATH OF INDOCHINA;

--ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE POLICIES IN THE

REGION COMPATIBLE WITH OUR OWN;

--ELICIT COOPERATIVE JAPANESE EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF OUR APPROACHES ON ENERGY, TRADE AND FOOD QUESTIONS.

3. BACKGROUND AND STRATEGY:

THERE ARE NO STRICTLY BILATERAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE US AND JAPAN WHICH NEED BE ADDRESSED AT THE SUMMIT. HOWEVER, MIKI'S VISIT COMES AT A TIME WHEN MANY OF THE ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY ARE BEING CHALLENGED AND NEW ATTITUDES TOWARD IMPORTANT ISSUES--SECURITY STRATEGY, RELATIONS WITH THE MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS, MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS--ARE BEING DEVELOPED. THE DIRECTION OF THIS EVOLUTION IN JAPANESE THINKING IS IMPORTANT FOR US INTERESTS, AND MIKI'S VISIT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXERT A SUBTLE INFLUENCE UPON IT.

IN MAKING THIS HIS FIRST FOREIGN TRAVEL, MIKI EMPHASIZES THE HIGH PRIORITY JAPAN CONTINUES TO PLACE ON ITS AMERICAN CONNECTION. HE WILL WISH TO REVIEW ASIAN SECURITY ISSUES, AND WILL WELCOME REAFFIRMATION OF THE US-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. MIKI WILL BE INTERESTED IN OUR THINKING WITH RESPECT TO RELATIONS WITH THE PRC AND USSR, AND WILL WANT TO HAVE A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF MAJOR ECONOMIC ISSUES. AN IMPORTANT SUBSIDIARY PURPOSE FOR MIKI WILL BE TO STRENGTHEN HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL POSITION. HE HOPES HIS MEETINGS WITH YOU WILL HELP TO STILL CRITICISM FROM CONSERVATIVES IN HIS PARTY THAT HE IS ONLY LUKEWARM TOWARD THE US.

BOTH WE AND THE JAPANESE FEEL THAT THE VISIT CAN BE MOST USEFUL AS A LOW-KEYED, BUSINESS-LIKE EXCHANGE. ITS CEREMONIAL CONTENT WILL BE MINIMAL. A FRANK, FORTHRIGHT APPROACH IS CALLED FOR IN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH MIKI.

4. PRINCIPAL ISSUES AND RECOMMENDED APPROACHES:

--US-JAPAN SECURITY COOPERATION. THERE HAS RECENTLY BEEN
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A GROWING TENDENCY IN JAPAN TO DISCUSS MORE OPENLY THE FULL RANGE OF SECURITY ISSUES, INCLUDING, NOTABLY, THE PROPER DEGREE OF DEFENSE COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE US. YOU SHOULD WELCOME JAPAN'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN CLOSER DEFENSE COOPERATION--WITHOUT, HOWEVER, INDICATING THAT WE WISH JAPAN TO ASSUME A REGIONAL DEFENSE ROLE.

-- RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION. JAPAN SHARES OUR VIEW THAT A STABLE AND BALANCED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SECURITY OF EAST ASIA. MIKI WILL BE INTERESTED IN YOUR VIEW OF THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, AND PARTICULARLY IN YOUR EXPECTATIONS WITH RESPECT TO YOUR UPCOMING TRIP TO PEKING AND BREZHNEV'S PLANNED VISIT TO WASHINGTON. YOU SHOULD AFFIRM OUR INTENTION TO

CONTINUE OUR POLICY OF DETENTE WITH THE USSR AND TO DEVELOP A BROADER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC. YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT YOUR PEKING VISIT WILL PROVIDE AN

OPPORTUNITY FOR USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE LEADERS, BUT THAT IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHAT MAY EMERGE FROM THE VISIT.

--KOREA: JAPAN IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO SECURITY CONDITIONS IN KOREA, AND HAS RECENTLY MADE A CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ROK. AT THE SAME TIME, MIKI HAS EVINCED A PERSONAL INTEREST IN KEEPING THE DOOR OPEN FOR CONTACT WITH PYONGYANG. YOU SHOULD AFFIRM OUR STRONG COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF THE ROK, AND WELCOME RECENT JAPANESE REAFFIRMATIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN OF KOREAN SECURITY. YOU SHOULD NOTE OUR APPRECIATION THAT THE JAPAN-ROK MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE HAS BEEN SCHEDULED AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT JAPAN-ROK TIES WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. YOU SHOULD NOTE THE ADVISABILITY OF JAPAN'S CONTINUING TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY WITH REGARD TO THE NORTH. FINALLY, YOU SHOULD REITERATE THE NEED FOR CLOSE US-JAPAN COOPERATION IN HANDLING THE KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UN, AND EXPLAIN OUR VIEWS ON THE ROK-VIETNAM MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS.

--SOUTHEAST ASIA, POST-INDOCHINA. MIKI WILL BE INTERESTED IN OUR VIEW OF POLITICAL AND SECURITY CONDITIONS IN THE
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POST-INDOCHINA PERIOD, AND IN THE ROLE WE ENVISAGE THERE. YOU SHOULD REITERATE OUR INTENTION TO REMAIN ACTIVE IN THE REGION, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT WE AND JAPAN CAN MAINTAIN COMPLEMENTARY POLICIES THERE.

--ENERGY. JAPAN IS A FIRM BELIEVER IN CONSUMER COOPERATION AND, WHILE RELUCTANT TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE, IS A CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE IEA. THE GOJ IS CONCERNED BY THE PROSPECT OF ANOTHER OPEC PRICE-HIKE, AND YET WILL NOT SUPPORT ACTIONS TOWARD OPEC WHICH MIGHT BE SEEN AS CONFRONTATIONAL. YOU SHOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF EFFECTIVE NATIONAL ENERGY PROGRAMS IN CONSUMER NATIONS, AND OF CONSUMER COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE SOURCES. YOU SHOULD SEEK TO PERSUADE MIKI THAT A MINIMUM SAFEGUARD PRICE (MSP) IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE OVERALL ENERGY PACKAGE. YOU SHOULD NOTE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US, JAPAN AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES CONTINUING TO MAKE CLEAR TO PRODUCERS OUR OPPOSITION TO FURTHER PRICE-HIKES, AND OF BUTTRESSING OUR ARGUMENTS WITH SOUND ANALYSIS.

--TRADE. JAPAN IS STRONG ADVOCATE OF THE CURRENT ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (MTN) SHARING OUR BELIEF THAT MAINTAINING A MOMENTUM IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS

ESSENTIAL IF PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES ARE TO BE RESISTED. HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE DIFFER WITH US ON THE SUBJECT OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE (SINCE THEY WISH TO PROTECT THEIR HIGH-COST BUT POLITICALLY IMPORTANT AGRICULTURAL SECTOR) AND HAVE TENDED TO SIDE WITH THE EUROPEANS IN FAVORING NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF SEPARATING TALKS ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FROM THOSE ON INDUSTRIAL GOODS. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT AGRICULTURAL TRADE TOO MUST BE LIBERALIZED IF MTN IS TO SUCCEED, AND STRESS OUR HOPE THAT JAPAN WILL JOIN WITH US IN WORKING TOWARD POSITIVE OUTCOMES IN THE MTN AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

--FOOD. JAPAN IS SKEPTICAL THAT OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY COORDINATED SYSTEM OF NATIONALLY-HELD GRAIN RESERVES WILL SERVE ITS OWN FOOD NEEDS, FEARING THAT SUCH A SYSTEM MAY SUBJECT JAPAN TO INCREASED LDC DEMANDS FOR FOOD AID AND POSSIBLY ACT TO DRAW DOWN JAPAN'S OWN RESERVE STOCKS. YOU SHOULD, HOWEVER, STRESS THE IMPORTANCE
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OF EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE MODALITIES OF SUCH A SYSTEM, IN ORDER TO PROTECT BOTH IMPORTING AND EXPORTING COUNTRIES AGAINST PERIODIC SUPPLY UNCERTAINTIES AND EXTREME FLUCTUATIONS OF PRICE.

--FISHERIES. IN LATE 1974, FOLLOWING YOUR DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE WITH PRIME MINISTER TANAKA IN TOKYO, WE AND THE JAPANESE NEGOTIATED A NORTH PACIFIC FISHERIES CONSERVATION AGREEMENT. THE JAPANESE PROVED QUITE FORTHCOMING IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE AGREEMENT IS AN EFFECTIVE ONE. HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE ARE NOW CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO ESTABLISH A 200-MILE FISHING ZONE. SUCH ACTION, IN ADDITION TO ITS POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR US-JAPAN BILATERAL RELATIONS, WOULD UNDERMINE EFFORTS TO REACH BROAD INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON A COMPREHENSIVE LAW OF THE SEA TREATY. IF MIKI RAISES THE QUESTION OF THE 200-MILE LIMIT, YOU SHOULD ASSURE HIM THAT WE SHARE HIS CONCERN, THAT WE APPRECIATE THE HIGH LEVEL OF COOPERATION THE GOJ HAS SHOWN IN FISHERIES CONSERVATION MATTERS IN RECENT MONTHS, AND THAT WE WILL CONTINUE WORKING CLOSELY WITH JAPAN FOR A SOLUTION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE LOS NEGOTIATIONS.

--AID TO EGYPT. WE HAVE ASKED THE JAPANESE TO CONTRIBUTE \$100 MILLION TOWARD A \$1 BILLION EMERGENCY AID PACKAGE FOR EGYPT THIS YEAR. THE JAPANESE HAVE INFORMED US THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO SHIFT TO THE EMERGENCY PACKAGE \$75 MILLION IN UNDISBURSED AID FUNDS COMMITTED TO EGYPT, AND THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING A MAXIMUM \$25 MILLION IN NEW AID TO BRING THE TOTAL TO \$100 MILLION. WE HAVE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT THE SMALL MAGNITUDE OF THE NEW AID PROPOSED, BUT HAVE URGED THAT THE JAPANESE FINALIZE AGREE-

MENT ON THE TOTAL PACKAGE IN TIME FOR MIKI'S VISIT. IF MIKI IS NOT RPT NOT PREPARED TO TELL US THAT JAPAN WILL CONTRIBUTE THE \$100 MILLION, YOU SHOULD URGE A PROMPT DECISION, IN VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EMERGENCY PACKAGE TO SADAT'S POLITICAL POSITION AND TO FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.

5. PRIMARY PRODUCTS STABILIZATION: MIKI MAY PROPOSE THAT WE EXPLORE JOINTLY THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVISING A MECHANISM
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TO STABILIZE EXPORT EARNINGS OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN LDC'S. IF HE RAISES THIS QUESTION, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT WE, LIKE THE JAPANESE, ARE ACTIVELY STUDYING WAYS TO STABILIZE EXPORT EARNINGS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND WILL WISH TO CONSULT WITH THE GOJ CLOSELY ON THIS PROBLEM. YOU MIGHT NOTE THAT WE HAVE PROPOSED INCREASING THE AVAILABILITY OF IMF FUNDS TO OFFSET SHORTFALLS IN LDC EXPORT EARNINGS; WE EXPECT THE IMF TO ACT ON THIS PROPOSAL, WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT PROTECTION TO ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. INGERSOLL

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